

Book of Italy vol 2
A CAVEAT to BRITONS:

BEING THE
HISTORY
OF
Fieschi's **CONSPIRACY**

Against the

STATE of *GENOA*.

Translated from the ITALIAN of Signor
MASCARDI. *K.*

To which is prefix'd,

A PREFACE,

Shewing the

REASONS of its present PUBLICATION.

Felix quem faciunt aliena Pericula Cautum.

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A TREATISE ON

BEING THE

HISTORY

OF

THE CONSPIRACY

Against the

STATE OF NEW YORK

Transcribed from the
MANUSCRIPT

To which is added

A PREFACE

Showing the

Reasons of its present Publication.

From the Library of the
NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

LONDON:

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[Price One Shilling]



T O

William Pultney, Esq;



T has been a *Custom*,
Time out of mind, for
Men, who appeal to the
Publick in *Print*, to put
their *Labours* under the
Protection of some distinguish'd
Name, in order to preserve them
from the Attacks of malevolent *Cri-*
ticks, who are never pleas'd with any
A 2 thing

DEDICATION.

thing which is not their *own*: It has been, also, the laudable Practice of prudent *Authors*, to inscribe their *Works* to *Persons* well vers'd in the *Subjects* of them; and, of late *Years*, the *Mode* of dedicating, especially *Political Pieces*, to *Persons*, suppos'd to be *interested* in them, has mightily prevail'd.

After enumerating the *Rules*, generally observ'd in *Pieces* of this kind, it cannot seem at all strange, that I offer this *little History* to you, for intending to represent to the *People* of *Britain* the dangerous *Situation* in which they at present are, by setting in their *View* the State of a *free People*; when, in *Circumstances*, not much unlike *theirs*, to whom shou'd I *address* it but a *SENATOR* of great *Distinction*? The *Nature* of the Thing, treated of, being equally *nice* and *important*; the *political* Reflections, contain'd therein, being of so great
Weight,

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Weight, and the *Consequences*, deducible from this *Narration*, of so tender a Concern; to whom shou'd I presume to submit their *Decision*, but to a STATES-MAN and a PATRIOT? Considering too, that the main Intention in sending this little *Pamphlet* abroad is, to apply the *Reasonings* on an *Event* which happen'd many *Years* ago, to the *Circumstances* in which *Things* now are; what *Person* of *Distinction*, what *Statesman*, what *Patriot*, so proper to be made the *Patron* of these *Pages*, as Mr. PULTNEY?

As these *Motives* encourage me to a *Liberty* of this nature; so the general *Character*, you bear in the *World*, prevented my having any of these *Doubts* and *Fears*, which sometimes discourage *Authors* in such *Cases*. If your *Conduct*, in the *Senate*, had not inclin'd me to this *Choice*; your *Reputation*, as a strict *Enquirer*, into even the minutest *Concerns*

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cerns of your *Country*, wou'd certainly have led me thereto. If your *Schemes*, as an *active Politician*, had never reach'd my *Ears*; your known *Indulgence*, even to the meanest *Writers* in this *Science*, would have embolden'd me to this *Attempt*; to which, indeed, the *Nature* of those *Pieces*, which are said to have dropp'd from your *Pen*, would have sufficiently engaged me; if no *Reports* had come to my *Knowledge* of your great *Generosity* to those who address you in this *Way*.

Pleading so many *Titles* to your *Favour*, I make no Doubt of meeting with a gracious *Hearing*, when I take upon me to give you some *Account* of what is to be met with in the little *Piece* which I present you. The *Character* of *Fieschi* will, I question not, appear *worthy* of your *Notice*. He was a *Man*, Sir, distinguish'd by his *Birth*, the great *Qualities* of his *Mind*, and, above all, by the

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the *Largeness* of his *Estate*. With these *Advantages* he might, doubtless, have prov'd a great *Blessing* to his *Country*, if he had not suffer'd himself to have been led away by his *Ambition* and his *Vanity*, and had not listen'd to such *Advices*, as tended, in appearance only, towards making him *great*; tho' they, at the same time, effectually depriv'd him of any *Pretence* to being *good*. His *Behaviour*, and his *Fate*, are sufficient to evince, that *Family*, *Parts*, and *Fortune* serve only to lead HIM to *Destruction*; who, neglecting what he might *possess*, will needs aspire to what he no-way *wants*; and who, listening to the flattering *Suggestions* of *others* and the *Whispers* of his own *wild Desires*, is ready not only to quit *Ease*, *Safety* and *Honour*, but to risque his *Wealth*, his *Life*, his *Family*, merely to gratify his *Pride* or his *Revenge*.

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The *Language*, Sir, given by *Fieschi*, and his *Faction*, to the *DORIA's*, especially to the *Uncle*, who *was* then, and *is* now (when time has extirpated all *Prejudices*) universally acknowledged the *Restorer* of *Genoa*, and the *Glory* of his *Country*, will sufficiently demonstrate how *easy* it is for *wicked* and *desperate* Men, to stain the *noblest Characters*, and to blast the *fairest Intentions* by the *foulest Insinuations*. It will *serve* to put every thinking *Man* in *mind* of searching strictly into general *Charges*, and examining, with a just Regard to *Truth*, the *Objections* made to the *Conduct* of *those*, whom a strict Attachment to the *publick Interest*, and a long *Series* of undoubted *Services*, have rais'd to the *Administration* of *Affairs*. It will farther serve to put every *Man* of *Honour*, I might say, of *Common Honesty*, who has oppos'd the *Government* of his *Country*, upon reviewing the *Principles* of his *Opposition*, and
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the *Tendency* of his *Practices*; that while he is endeavouring to *avoid* the contemptible *Appellation* of a *Flatterer*, or a *Time-server*, he may not run into the most *infamous*, and most *odious*, of all *Characters*, that of a **DISTURBER** and **BETRAYER** of his **COUNTRY**.

Give me Leave, Sir, to add a few Words more as to another *Picture* you will find admirably *painted* in the following *Pages*, and I shall have done. 'Tis that, Sir, of a *false Friend*; a *Man*, whose *Vices* had *made*, and whom his *Necessities* kept, a **VILLAIN**; who seeking nothing but his own *Advancement*, scrupled not to push the *Man* who *confided* in him, who had *screen'd* him by his *Favour*, and *fed* him by his *Bounty*, on the *basest*, *blackest*, and most *destructive Enterprize*, which even a *Fiend* from *Hell* could have contriv'd: And, let it serve to establish this *Maxim*, that a *Man*, given up to his *Lusts*, and who

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has not the least *Tenderness* for the *Publick*, can never deserve the *Countenance*, much less remain worthy of the *Friendship* of any *Man* whose *Morals* are *fairer* than his *own*. These, Sir, are *Reflections* which may be *useful*, and which therefore ought not to be *offensive*, even tho' there should be, among your *Acquaintance*, *Persons* not altogether unlike *FIESCHI* and his *FALSE FRIEND*.

I am, Sir,

With all due Respect,

Your Obedient Humble Servant,

The EDITOR.



P R E F A C E.



*W*HILE the Press teems with so many political Labours, it is certainly incumbent on him, who increases their Number, to give some Account of the Reasons which induced him to publish, and of the Benefits, which may accrue to his Readers from the Perusal of what he writes. In some Sense, I might plead Excuse to this just, as well as general Rule, as I publish not my own Thoughts, but those of another; and he too an Author of establish'd Reputation; as far remov'd from the Reach of the little Criticks in this Age, as he is above any Praises, which are in my Power to offer. However, I think it my Duty, since I have

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taken upon me to send this Piece into the World, at present first to give the Publick an Account of the Treatise, with which I present them: And, secondly, To shew the Reasons, why I have given it them at this Time. And when I have done this, I shall think my Task, as an Editor, thoroughly discharged.

The Conspiracy of Fieschi, was written originally in Italian, by Signor Mascardi, a Man of true Genius, much Wit, and admirable Eloquence. He intended to have written a large History of the Affairs of Italy, and publish'd this Piece by way of Specimen of his own Abilities for that Work, and of the Manner in which he design'd to treat it. I need not observe, to the learned Reader, that our Italian has imitated the Antients with great Success, as well in direct Orations, which was the Excellence of Thucydides and Salust, as in proper Reflections, and a grave and noble Turn of Style, in which Plutarch and Tacitus had before distinguish'd themselves: But perhaps it will not be amiss to inform him, that this History of Fieschi, has been also written by John Francis Paul Gondy, the famous Cardinal De Retz, who, in Point of Wit, Penetration and political Skill, was, in his own Time, allow'd

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low'd to have been equal to the greatest Politicians, and to the most polite Writers of that, or of the former Age.

As to the English Translation, I am not able to say by whom it was made; but it was licens'd to the Press, October the 1st, 1677, by Sir Roger L'Estrange, and was accordingly printed in an Octavo Volume, bearing the Title of, A Collection of select Discourses out of the most eminent Wits of France and Italy, in 1678. So that the Reader will perceive, I have nothing at all to do with the following Pages more than as a Publisher; and therefore I cannot, on any account, be charg'd with wresting the Sense of my Author, or with giving so much as a Turn to his Words, in order to make them serve any Purpose of mine; a Practice too common with modern Translators, especially such as meddle with political Treatises, who are usually more solicitous to make an Author speak their Thoughts, than to teach him in English how to speak his own.

Thus much for the Book: Now for the Reasons of its present Publication. The State of Genoa was in Peace at home, and in high Reputation abroad, when John Lewis Count of Fieschi was, by the Enemies of that Republick,

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publick, put upon ruining his Country, under pretence of removing the Dotia's, styl'd by them the Oppressors, tho' in truth they were the Protectors of that Common-wealth. A Man must be utterly unacquainted with the Transactions in our Age and Nation, who knows not, that Britain, like Genoa, might enjoy all the Sweet's, and all the Benefits of Peace, if it were not for dissembled Enemies, and intestine Traytors. That there are many Spirits amongst us as ambitious and turbulent, tho' perhaps less valiant and resolv'd than that of Fieschi's, cannot be doubted, if the Conduct of our male-content Chiefs be consider'd; wherein their Speeches and Actions have shewn Boldness and Malice, not inferior to his; tho' their Skill and Firmness fall below that Dexterity and Courage, with which he embroil'd a Republick, entirely at Ease, and had almost effected a Revolution, in a Place where none but Fools cou'd have wish'd a Change.

That Similitude, which appear'd to me, between the Reasonings of Fieschi and his Confederates, and the Discourses which have been publish'd within these ten Years in this Kingdom, made me think the narrow Escape of Genoa might prove a fit Warning to the
Inhabitants

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Inhabitants of this Island, and prevent their risking their own Ease and Safety; nay more, their Honour and their Liberty, to gratify the private Resentments and aspiring Desires of a few private Men, mad to grasp again that Power, which they have once abus'd, and which, from the Measures they take to attain it, it is impossible but that they must abuse a second time, if the People are mad enough to put it into their Hands.

As this, and this only, was the Motive, which induc'd me to reprint this little Treatise; so I hope it will, to every impartial Reader, prove a strong Argument for his considering attentively the Rise, Progress, and Conclusion of that Conspiracy, which is therein related. A Conspiracy of pretended Patriots against real ones. A Conspiracy flowing from that Madness, with which the Possession of too much Wealth is apt to infect bad Minds; and supported by that Madness, which Idleness and Necessity excites in the Souls of the Needy and Vicious, against honest Citizens, rich through their own Industry; against a Nobility, in possession of those Honours, which their Birth and Merit deserved; and against two Men, more distinguished than the rest of their Countrymen, by their having done, and hazarded

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hazarded more for their Country than any of 'em. In fine, a Conspiracy, for introducing Tyranny and Slavery, under the specious Pretence of restoring Liberty; whereas, in truth, the publick Freedom had been asserted, and the antient Form of Government resettled by those, whom these Miscreants would have destroy'd. From such a Calamity, nay from such an Attempt, may the Providence of God, and, under it, our own Prudence, ever preserve this Nation; and may the Britons never behold the Effects of such flagitious Folly, any other ways, than in such a Picture, as there present. A Picture, however terrible, yet drawn from the Life, and not at all more frightful than true.



F I E C H T's



FIESCHI'S CONSPIRACY.

Out of ITALIAN.



HE war raging in *Italy* between the emperor *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* king of *France*, *Andrea Doria*, an experienced commander in sea-affairs, follow'd the banner of the *French*. With his valour and counsels he sustain'd the reputation, and notably promoted the Interests of that crown ; satisfying at once the faith due to his king, and the fierce hatred he bore the *Spaniards* for the cruel accidents which happen'd in the sack of *Genoa*. But, as it is the fatal infelicity of princes not to esteem eminent persons whilst they are engaged in their service, the king, by ways little discreet, exasperated the mind of *Andrea*, a minister so necessary to him at this time. He did not

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pay him his assign'd stipend; and, after he had taken from him the prince of *Orange*, his prisoner of war, and set him at liberty, thereby defrauding him of his due ransom, he demanded with importunity and insolent threatnings the marquis *Vasto*, and *Ascanio Colonna*, taken in fight by *Philippino Dorea*, lieutenant to *Andrea*. But that which most pierced the soul of the good old man, was the small faith of the king in complying with his promise, touching the interest and reputation of the *Genoese*. The city of *Savona* had withdrawn it self from the obedience of the common-wealth; expecting under the protection of *France*, to better its condition by the commodiousness of the port, which furnished them with extraordinary emoluments, to the irreparable damage of the city of *Genoa*.

Andrea had often complained of this to the king, praying him, that in recompence of his services, he would restore to his country what by all right was due to it. The king, overcome by the honesty of the request, had promised *Doria* to satisfy him; but his regard to justice being combated by the hopes of interest, he at last inclines to the worst choice, and resolves to detain that city. He had seen by experience how inconstant the *Genoese* were, and how little he could depend upon that common-wealth for his war in *Italy*. For, tyranniz'd by factions, it easily changed its form of government, according to the different prevailing humours: therefore esteeming it necessary for his designs to have a port at his devotion commodious for the affairs of *Lombardy*, he chose *Savona*, and gave the charge of it to *Momorancy*. Conceiving, that with this determination he had at once bridled the inconstancy of the *Genoese*, and greatly advantag'd
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the course of his enterprize ; because the city of *Savona* being near to *Piedmont*, *Montferrat* and *Lombardy*, it became an opportune scale, no less for merchandise than for war : hence 'twas fear'd, that in a few years growing in reputation and riches, it might not only divert the trade from the port of *Genoa*, but rival it with them for the principality of that sea. Of this *Doria*, as a singular lover of his country, sharply complain'd : but at last seeing it was in vain, he turns his mind to other counsels. In the mean while growing cold in his devotions to the king, he by degrees slacken'd his wonted diligence in serving him ; and directed *Philippino* how to comport himself in the future. The *French*, who besieged *Naples* under *Lautrech*, quickly found the damage they receiv'd by the voluntary negligence of *Philippino* : for he, who but a little before had with incredible valour worsted the imperial navy, now could not hinder a few barks from entring into *Naples* with provisions : and this was the beginning of the ruin of that design. Pope *Clement VII.* understanding how *Doria* was alienated from the crown of *France*, seriously admonish'd the king by his legate, to provide speedy remedy for this evil, by giving satisfaction to a captain of so much reputation and so powerful at sea ; lest, being provok'd to pass over to the service of *Cæsar*, he should carry with him all hopes of the approaching victory. He sent likewise to *Doria* his secretary *Sanga*, to mitigate his resentments. They then deliberated in the king's council on this important affair. Some amongst them painted *Doria* as a man too proud in the use of his authority, and, esteeming it impossible to gain him, counsel'd, that he should be cut off ; preventing by a sudden violence those designs, which by gentler ways could hardly be impeded ; so depriving *Cæsar*

of that aid, which in the present conjuncture would be of much avail to him. Accordingly necessary orders were given to *Barbigios*, who pass'd into *Italy* with the charge of admiral. *Doria* in the mean time having notice hereof, and detesting that ingratitude and perfidiousness with which the *French* ministers would have recompens'd his services, treated with the marquis *Vasto*, his prisoner, about serving the emperor; by whom being gladly receiv'd, he openly renounc'd the friendship of the *French* king, and return'd him the collar and order of *St. Michael*. The first conditions he made with *Cæsar*, were such as might be hoped for from a citizen, who dearly lov'd his country; to wit, the liberty of *Genoa* under the imperial protection, and the reducing *Savona*: the rest respect'd principally his own profit and reputation. The resolution of *Doria* did in such a manner startle the drowsy king, that willing to correct his past neglects with present sollicitousness, he begins to study how he might bring him back on honourable terms. But his repentance came too late. For *Doria*, altogether intent upon the freeing of his country from the yoke of strangers, would admit of no conditions that might retard the execution of his designs. The king notwithstanding, as impatient to recover, as he had been careless in keeping him, with diminution of decorum and majesty, descended of his own accord to offer him all that satisfaction which he had formerly denied; and, which was worse, without first secretly trying by means of friends how *Doria* stood inclin'd, he prostituted the royal dignity to the ignominy of a repulse: which being return'd most precise and resolute, it is not to be imagin'd, how it fill'd the king's mind with vexation and shame.

Doria

Doria, now in the service of *Cæsar*, with twelve gallies apply'd himself to procure the liberty of his country, which had ever been the sole object of his thoughts. The common-wealth at this time was become a prey to the will of the common people ; who putting no difference between private licence and publick liberty, under the name of the common good fomented with continual tumults the passions of particulars. And when one faction found it self weak in its own forces, having recourse to strangers, they introduced a new form of government. Thus one while the *Adorni* drove out the *Fregosi*, and anon were driven out by them : governors from *Milan* were call'd, and sent away again : the *French* yoke accepted, and shaken off. So that the wounds in the body of the common-wealth were still kept open by change of plasters, which had need of being well clos'd by concord. All which *Doria* considering, came before *Genoa* with his gallies, to give heat to the good will of those, who together with himself desir'd the common good : nor was he deceiv'd in his thoughts. For divers citizens, tired with the calamities of pass'd discord, apply'd themselves to more wholesom counsels, desiring a good und firm union. The city was now govern'd in the name of the *French* king by *Triultio*, who having before acquir'd the reputation of a valiant and prudent captain, it begot the more wonder in all mens minds, when they consider'd how little this action of his corresponded to that praise which was due to the rest. For, tho' he understood that the discourses and designs of the *Genoese* did tend to peace, he took no care to disturb them : either because he esteem'd it a meer reconciliation of private enmities between the nobility and people ; or because he relied too much upon the king's forces and his own valour ;

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not considering, that *Genoa*, put into his hands by civil discord, might be snatch'd from him only by union. *Doria* thus valuing himself, both upon the good disposition of the citizens, and the opportunity presented him by *Triultio*, attempted to conduct his enterprize to its end : which he did so happily, that without bloodshed he got the city, driving thence the *French* garrison. Being received by the *Genoese* with incredible demonstrations of joy, and persuaded by several to open his bosom to the favours of fortune, which offer'd him the dominion of *Liguria* ; with a mind superior to worldly happiness, he refused it. Afterwards, by a weighty speech, and worthy the father of his country, he exhorted the citizens at last to know themselves, and for the future to maintain that liberty which he freely bestow'd upon them. The city of *Genoa* oblig'd by so many benefits desired to shew efficacious signs of a true gratitude ; wherefore, granting to him and his posterity large privileges, they erected a marble statue, and, by certain words ingrav'd in the base thereof, declared him the author of the publick liberty. He now grown old retires himself, and enjoys in the bosom of his country the fruit of that victory and quiet which himself had procur'd. He had with him *Giannettino* his cousin, a young man of great spirit and known virtue ; and who had merited by his valour to be his adopted son and destin'd successor in his charge at sea, with the consent of *Cæsar*. Thus, by reason of the quality of this excellent person, esteemed by all princes, rich no less in fame than in fortune ; and for the reverence the *Genoese* bore him as the publick benefactor ; his house was frequented, not as that of a simple citizen, but as of some great prince. These things thus summarily described, were the true causes

causes of *Fieschi's* conspiracy : with a memorable example to all free cities of the incredible damage which the greatness of an eminent citizen, tho' never so virtuous and discreet, is to the publick ; and of that necessity, which moved the *Athenians* to publish their law of ostracism.

Pope *Paul III.* and the king of *France*, were they which envy'd *Genoa's* publick, and *Doria's* private happiness ; because by that, cities being withdrawn from the service of the *French*, and put under the protection of *Cæsar*, sprung up extraordinary obstacles to the affairs of *Milan*, which the pope would gladly have seen favourable to the king ; as well to curb in some measure the power of *Cæsar*, now formidable to all ; as to vindicate himself for the impediment he receiv'd, in advancing one of his family to that dukedom. Nor could they endure, that *Doria* the only author and promoter hereof should remain in an honourable repose a spectator of others misfortunes.

They now expected some accident which might minister an occasion to their designs. But that opportunity which they could not find, was put into their hands by fortune, not yet entirely reconciled to the *Genoese*. *Gio Luigi de Fieschi*, a young man of great spirit and turbulent humour, was at this time compassing how he might better his reputation and degree. He was descended of noble parentage ; rich no less in adherence and followers, than in vassals and estate. Not contented, for all this, with that honourable condition which descended to him from his ancestors, he suffer'd himself to be hurried by the heats of his age, and by ambition, the ordinary disease of the nobility, to dangerous hopes. From a boy he gave manifest signs of an immature fierceness ; from which wise men collected,

collected, that he grew up for the disturbance of his country's peace. To these pernicious incentives of his nature was added a bad education, the incurable pest of youth; for tho' his master, *Pablo Panfa*, was both learned and virtuous, those with whom he most freely convers'd were dangerous persons, who employ'd their skill by flatteries to nourish in his mind perverse and novel designs, styling them noble and generous. Nor (as 'twas said) was his mother wanting to add fuel to this growing flame. For, more ambitious than considerate, she often wounded the mind of her son with bitter reproaches, as if he, poorly contenting himself with a private fortune, did degenerate from his ancestors, who, in their country and out of it, were wont to sustain the greatest dignities. And, to make all sure, he (by the advice of his friends) gave himself to read and study the life of *Nero*, *Cataline's* conspiracy, and *Machiavel's* prince. From which books he suck'd in principles of cruelty, perfidiousness, and love of private interest, above divine or human reason. So much force hath good or ill to change even the will of the reader, when convey'd by a powerful pen, and apt to persuade.

Those who watch'd for advantages to ruin *Genoa*, had penetrated the qualities of *Gio. Luigi*, and believ'd him a fitting instrument for their important design. They endeavoured by all ways to put him upon the action, setting before him the profit and honour of it. Amongst others, *Cesare Fregoso* attempted him in the name of the *French* King, whereof *Doria* had notice; but the advice did not find belief with the old man, who was preoccupied with an affection to *Gio. Luigi*, and with his own opinion, founded upon the uncertainty of vain conjectures. Nor was the pope wanting to invite him

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to it, and, he being then in the pope's state caused four gallies to be sold him by the duke of *Piacenza*. Where likewise cardinal *Triultio*, protector of *France*, gave him a visit, and, knowing him a man greedy of fame, spake to him after this manner:

If fortune were propitious to your virtue, noble youth, I might be happy to see you in a condition far above that of a private citizen. But seeing, through the iniquity of the times, your rewards do not go equal with your merits, take in good part that I pity your condition, and join with all good men to wish you better fortune. Your birth and parts have made your advancement the subject of all their vows, who desire the common good: and I, who by the height of my place have a fair prospect into the affairs of the world, cannot but wish you had a larger theatre opened for so much valour. You are born in times so calamitous, that in your own city 'tis not lawful to aim at eminency: because it being reduced to a civil equality, will not endure you other than a mere citizen. Besides, that *Andrea* and *Giannettino Doria* have, under pretence of publick liberty, so firmly rooted their power, that the greatest publick concord consists in serving their wills. Thus the *Genoese* have chastised themselves for that blind resolution, which withdrew them from the dominion of a potent prince, by their so tamely subjecting themselves to the tyranny of two private men. They, upheld by *Cæsar*, and formidable by a good number of ships, will not suffer a noble and generous spirit; but will look upon the virtue of an eminent citizen, as dangerous to the growing fortunes of their family. They will value themselves upon the specious names of fathers of their country, and restorers of its lost liberty, to oppress the bravest men, under

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pretence of the common good. So that, under their empire, you shall be more sure of injuries than of life: and if all this hath not happen'd hitherto, impute it to the unripe greatness of *Doria*, and the moderation of *Andrea*, who gives check to the rashness of *Giannettino*. He being of a proud and impotent nature, when he shall see himself girt about with his own forces, and, for the importance of his charge, revered by all the nobility; what is it which he will not make lawful for his power? Do you think, that his thirst of rule, provoked by his approaching hopes, will be extinguished by any thing but the blood of the innocent? Do you believe, that, content with the greatness which his over-partial fortune and folly of the citizens hath invested him with, he will die with the bare name of *Giann. Doria*? I, for my part, cannot think so: He is not of that moderation, that either he should know how, or be willing to stop the course of his extreme felicity. He expects, I imagine, the death of *Andrea*, and then by a wicked invasion, staining all his famous actions, done in behalf of his country, he will usurp the command of it. But let us suppose the divine goodness prevents these designs; can his present height be endured by a well-born citizen? If you have not hitherto tasted of his insolencies, you are obliged to the tenderness of your years, not to his good manners: but hereafter you will find your self involved in the common misery. You, you I say, amongst the rest shall be seen to visit, accompany, and serve him; *Giannettino* shall be able to number amongst the trophies of his intolerable insolence, that *Gio. Luigi de Fieschi*, earl of *Lavagna*, and lord of so many vassals, courted him, reverenc'd him, and bow'd to him. How much better were it, that awaking your mind to resolutions

ons worthy of your country, family, and virtue, you should deliver all others and your self from this servitude? And can you want forces, when you please to use them? Before you leave *Rome*, you shall be furnished with all necessary aids: I can promise you the assistance of the king of *France*. In *Genoa* the common people, ever at variance with the nobility, shall be to you a sword and shield. *Giannettino* sleeping in the arms of his good fortune, will fall an easy prey into your nets; your own subjects, and those of the duke of *Piacenza*, will be able to defend you against any force that can be raised. In short, all things invite you to victory: only wants your own determination, not to fight, but to triumph. Consider, 'tis necessary you command or serve; either render your self formidable to others, or live in perpetual fear.

Triultio could not have touch'd his mind in a part more sensible: for, having long envied the greatness of *Doria*, he looked upon *Giannettino* as a reproach to his own tameness: so that having his will well prepared, he soon took fire from this spark the cardinal administer'd. When he had greedily hearkened to the conditions propounded in the name of the king, he did not think them despicable; and they were the following, That he should presently receive money for the maintaining six gallies; that he should be secured of pay for 200 men, to be put into his castle of *Montobby*; that he should receive 12000 crowns *per annum* for his provision: Which conditions were soon after confirm'd to him by the the king's order. He gave now good hopes of himself; not only by that alteration which *Triultio* quickly spy'd in him, but by words; yet reserving his last resolution to his return for *Genoa*. Where being arrived, he began more diligently to observe the proceedings of *Giannettino*: for, tho' the splendor of

the family deriv'd itself chiefly from the person of *Andrea*; yet, because most worship the rising sun, the eyes of all were turn'd upon *Giannettino*. He having increas'd his natural pride by a military education, and being reverenc'd for the Command he had of 20 gallies, and for the succession in the admiralship design'd him by *Cæsar*, heighten'd also by several proofs he had given of his personal valour, had drank in conceits far beyond the condition of a private citizen: whence, not caring to acquire by courtesy those men, which he believ'd were oblig'd to him by interest, he studied more the ostentation of his own power, than others good will. For all this, he was much hated by the popular faction: and the young nobility, which follow'd him, were drawn by the profit they hop'd to reap from him, and not invited by his manner of treating them. He also us'd *Fieschi* but coarsly, which provok'd him in such a manner, that he was so far from seeking his friendship by the ordinary servilities, that he rather indiscreetly betray'd some signs of his evil-will: and to shew that he stood in no need of him in that very particular which made him so famous, he bought the four gallies of the duke of *Piacenza* to the infinite vexation of *Gianettino*. In the mean while, *Triultio* would not, by omitting his diligences, corrupt the hopes he had conceiv'd of gaining *Gio. Luigi*; and knowing, that in important resolutions the nature of youth must be taken warm that the heat of his past negotiation might not cool, he sent *Niccolo Foderato*, a kinsman of the earl's, to *Genoa*. He, by renewing the treaty and enlarging the cardinal's promises, drew *Gio. Luigi* at last to an express declaration of his readiness to assist the *French* army in reducing *Genoa* to the king's obedience, upon some conditions favourable to his own greatness.

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The earl now puts his design to consultation, and three Persons there were which he call'd to it; *Vincenza Calcagno*, an old and faithful servant of his; *Raphael Sacco*, his Lawyer; and *Gio. Battista Verrina*, a citizen of *Genoa*. This last, being a near neighbour of *Fieschi's*, easily obtain'd his acquaintance, and by the earl's liberality sustain'd his declining fortunes, and had insinuated himself into a participation of his greatest secrets. He was of a vast spirit, and bent to the greatest exploits: an implacable enemy of the nobility, as well through faction as for particular injuries. Nor could he be content with the present government, which being in the hands of the nobility, excluded him from all hopes of sharing in it. Add to this his slender fortunes clogg'd with debts, a powerful spur to sensitive minds, which puts them upon a desperate embracing any strange design, as well by consideration of their present wants, as the memory of their past abundance. *Verrina*, then perceiving he could no longer conceal his broken fortunes in the serenity of a publick peace, desired to hide them in the universal confusion of his country. For, if the designed wickedness were accompanied with fortune, he should marvelously better his condition; and, if it were fatal, he should miscarry, be ruin'd in the common ruin, and expire in the heat of a great enterprize, comforting himself with the famous infamy of having provided for his name; so mad a thing is ambition, which makes no difference in fame, whether good or evil, so it be great. On the other side, *Calcagno*, one of a ripe judgment, but a timorous nature, being us'd to the delights and ease of a plentiful house, hated to think of those dangers into which he saw *Gio. Luigi* about to precipitate himself: Besides, that sincerely loving the person
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rather than the fortunes of the earl, in whose service he had grown up from a child, he had no interest of his own which he desir'd should flourish at the expence of his master. *Sacco*, seeing the matter every way dangerous, stood neuter; not declaring his sentiments, that he might accommodate himself opportunely to that resolution which should be embraced by the earl. *Gio. Luigi* now lays open his mind, with a short, but vehement speech; declaring, that he was absolutely resolv'd to attempt some great matter, and that he ask'd their advice only about the manner. Notwithstanding which, *Calcagno* bearing himself upon the tender love he bore to his master, and long familiarity, with singular liberty spake to this purpose:

If in your resolutions of attempting this design, you are as obstinate as your words seem to declare, I may rather weep over the common misery, than hope to effect any thing by contradicting you. But, if prudence and your better fortune have left place for second thoughts, which are wont to be most matur'd, you shall this day have proof of my fidelity in freely speaking to you, as you have hitherto had in my faithful acting for you. You have hitherto liv'd in a constant tenour of happiness, and have not seen the threatening face of fortune: so that, according to the manner of the fortunate, you dream of nothing but victory, increase of state and lordships. But I fear much, that these gay figures which revel in your imagination, will be defac'd by some disastrous event; which will be so much the more intolerable, by how much the less 'tis fear'd. To introduce a change in the government of this commonwealth is a work of so much difficulty, and expos'd to such evident danger, that I cannot do so much violence to my own thoughts,

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as to fancy it secure and easy: for you either design to value yourself upon the forces of strangers, or you hold intelligence with the citizens. I see no foreign forces ready; and, if they were, they can neither be so speedy or so secret, but it may come to the notice of the city, *Doria* and *Cæsar*. *Italy*, for our misfortune, is at present the stage of such important actions as keep open all mens eyes: and *Genoa*, being the only frontier of this province, is the more jealously look'd to. The state of *Milan* (both the field of battle, and the destin'd prey to the fortune of the *Imperial* or *French* arms) causes *Cæsar* to watch over *Genoa* as the bulwark of his power in *Italy*. *Doria* assists him with twenty gallies; and the citizens, hating the tyranny of the duke of *Milan* and king of *France*, loath the name of foreigners. You may indeed with a small force discover your intention, but not bring it to effect; and, whence you should hope great, I cannot imagine. The king of *France* hath enough to do to secure his own frontiers; or, if he should assist you, will not *Cæsar* oppose him with superiour, or not unequal force? In such a case at least the uncertainty of the event will take place, which depends on the doubtful success of a Battle. After which, you will be forc'd to accommodate yourself to that fortune which shall be prescrib'd you by the conqueror, and nothing remain with you but the infamy of having ungratefully depriv'd your country of its liberty, and put it under the yoke of strangers. If you expect assistance within the town, either I do not know the nature and condition of the *Genoese*, or you have a slippery foundation for your hopes. Tell me, from what order of citizens you attend succours; perhaps from the nobility: but they are the creatures of *Doria*, and bound to him
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by notable interest. They live in an honourable peace, and possess the command of the commonwealth: so that, if the least mutation will endamage their condition, how can you expect they will consent to a turbulent revolution, which must cast them into worse calamities than the past? Will they, think you, to please your will, put in oblivion their country, liberty, fortunes, wives and children? Will they, for your friendship, slight the protection of *Doria*, now reverenc'd as their father by so many particular and common titles? Nor can you make better judgment of the common people's inclination towards you. For, the greater the hatred is they profess to the name of the nobility, the less can they hope, that you, one of the chief in that order, will without any appearance of reason endeavour to extinguish it. But, if you design to compass to yourself the command of the commonwealth, what action less popular than this, or more unlike to gain the people? But perhaps you pretend to restore the first form of government chang'd by the violence of *Doria*, in which flourish'd the popular power; and by declaring so much, you think to stir up the people in your favour: nor am I obstinate in believing the contrary, but rather imagine those, who are at present ill-satisfied, will greedily embrace an occasion of renewing the past tragedies. To which they will be more easily mov'd, whilst they shall reap the profit, and you the infamy of the action: unless you can persuade yourself, that the *Adorni* and *Fregosi* will yield to you that pre-eminence in the popular administration, which they have so long and so often fought for themselves. They will praise your rashness, and call it valour: they will follow your ensigns as their deliverer: they will be glad to see the nobility crush'd by a
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nobleman; the bowels of the common-wealth wounded by your arms; the common peace overwhelm'd by your fury; their tyranny restor'd by your folly; and keeping aloof from the wickedness you set on foot, (let every thing be call'd by its right name) they will take their time to enter upon the harvest of your labours; to share in the honour of your attempts, in the triumph of your combats. In what condition shall you then find yourself? odious to the nobility you have betray'd; scorn'd by the commonalty, who enjoy the fruits of your artifices; hated by your country, which, through your means, hath lost its liberty; an enemy to *Cæsar*, under whose protection we are; not trusted by the king of *France*, who aim'd at the absolute command of *Genoa*; abhorr'd by the whole world, which justly detests all treasons. And further I must tell you, and 'tis necessary you hear it; for the fidelity I owe to your service, and the love I bear your person, makes me thus bold: I fear (and God grant my fears be vain) I fear, I say, that these unquiet and tumultuous thoughts are the instigations of your evil fortune, which hath destin'd you to the loss of reputation, life and estate. You know, that *Doria* looks upon you with an envious eye; and you have complain'd to me, that you dread his malice: why then will you put arms into his hand, wherewith he may justly oppress you? with how much eagerness will he encounter an occasion to satisfy his hatred to you, under pretence of love to his country? He will secretly be glad of that resolution which thrusts you forward; and, openly taking arms, with what reasons may he not justify to the world his opposing you? You shall be the enemy of the publick peace, the tyrant of publick liberty, the betrayer of your

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country, a rebel to the commonwealth; the *Cataline* of *Genoa*. With these magnificent and plausible words, who amongst the commonalty, nobility, citizens; what stranger, what private man, what prince, will not arm himself against you? I am astonish'd to think, much more to speak of it. At last, you shall remain oppress'd by a common force conspiring your destruction; your lands confiscated, as those of a traitor; your memory stain'd and dishonour'd in the annals of *Genoa*; and *Giannettino*, acknowledg'd the second deliverer of his country and restorer of liberty, will build his glories upon your ruins. The gratitude of the *Genoese* will raise up a statue to him, to accompany that of *Andrea*, in whose inscription shall be inserted the name of *Gio. Luigi Fieschi* the publick enemy, overthrown by *Giannettino Doria* the publick benefactor. Do not then suffer yourself to be hurried, by the impetuosity of your youth, or resentments, to such dangerous attempts: Be content to be restrain'd by a pity to yourself, family, and subjects: Compassionate the infelicity of your mother and wife: Deliver those, that love you, from so just and necessary fears. This, your youth, accompanied with so much worth, does not deserve to be prodigally cast down into the hands of fortune: Enjoy, enjoy those riches, which in such abundance your father left you; for you are plac'd in a degree every way so eminent, that you may live envy'd by *Giannettino*.

These words were not heard by *Fieschi* without some trouble of mind; for having receiv'd other proofs of the tender affection of *Calcagno*, he saw it now accompanied with so many and so powerful reasons, that he remain'd not a little alter'd: which *Verrina* observing, and considering, that if he let
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his thoughts gather force, all was in danger; handsomely, but with a detestable piety, he thus oppos'd *Calcagno's* arguments.

I would to God, that the affairs of the commonwealth were reduc'd to such terms, that the citizens might quietly enjoy their own; you could not then wish yourself in a better condition: for as *Calcagno* hath well consider'd, for largeness of territory, nobility of birth, and for riches, you have not your equal in *Genoa*: nor ought a wise man in the height of his felicity to provoke his fortune, which cannot suffer change but for the worse. But destiny, the enemy of your welfare, hath so entangled matters, that you must attempt great things, or perish. *Giannettino Doria*, who, for so many years, hath destin'd to his covetousness the command of *Genoa*, will never endure you. If you do not plainly read in his forehead the implacable hatred he bears you; if in his behaviour you do not discover his pride; the gallies, bought by you, speak loud enough, that you are a thorn in his side. That insolent man aims at the free and absolute dominion of these seas; nor will he endure that any body should dare to disturb or divide it with him. How can you imagine he will long suffer you to share with him in that power, when the jealousy of rule does not spare the blood of brothers, sons, or parents? Either you must then, by a shameful flight, retire to your castles, and leaving your gallies leave the field; or else you must awaken that courage which shall be sufficient to oppose him. If you resolve to redeem yourself from the approaching danger with your infamy, and lead your life as receiv'd in gift from him; go, I will not stop you: a more wretched condition the hate of *Giannettino* could not wish you. But your virtue bids me hope something more generous; and

that I shall see the vain pride of that rash man broken by your valour. You are then to embrace such an enterprize as *Giannettino* himself shall envy. Fortune hath plac'd between you two the empire of *Liguria*; nor can one of you attain it without making way for the wheels of his triumph over the breast of the other. He can best secure himself of victory, that knows how, by prevention, to cut off his enemy's way: the necessity of securing your own safety is common to both; he will appear wisest, who, by the celerity of a resolute execution, shall be beforehand with tardy and immature counsels. Either assault, or expect to be assaulted: Either prevent him, or fall into his nets; or kill, or die. Perhaps my words may appear too sharp; but necessity, which, in desperate cases, is the whetstone of fortitude, is likewise the shield of innocence. Let the folly of *Giannettino* be accus'd; the cowardice of your country, and the iniquity of fortune, which have reduc'd you to such inevitable straits. You are not injurious to any, whilst, to defend yourself, you follow the order of nature. It is part of prudence to divert that tempest upon the head of our enemy, which threatens our own; and, if this cannot be done without appearance of evil, it is not your fault, but destiny's, which left no way to maintain your life but another's death; and grants no other defence for your virtue, than vice. But why do I say, vice? this is your word, *Calcagno*, and you have learn'd it in the school of the vulgar, strangers to the doctrine of rule. The actions of private persons are styl'd by this name, not the enterprizes of princes. If your rule were right, all empire should be wicked: for it all proceeds from the force of the stronger over the weaker. Nature produc'd mankind in a perfect equality, and left it to

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virtue to attain supremacy. Whence those are called princes, who by their wit and force knew how to compass a command over others. I deny not, but some will join with *Calcagno* to chide your resolution before it be conducted to its end: for dangerous and bold actions are not celebrated till they have attained their effect; but when the fortune of the execution shall have authenticated the nobleness of the attempt, that blaming shall be converted into wonder, and what was first called rashness shall be honoured with the title of valour. Whilst *Cæsar* himself had his arms in his hand, and fought for the empire of *Rome*, not only *Pompey*, but the greatest part of the nobility obstinately oppos'd him; but when he had overthrown his enemy in the *Pharsalian* field, and master'd the commonwealth, civil hatred ceased, and he was so sincerely beloved by the *Romans*, that they severely reveng'd his death. Let the *Genoese* for a time call you tyrant, and don't think that name injurious, but imagine only that dying liberty talks idly: They will by degrees be brought to acknowledge you a legitimate prince. You see how I confide in your fortunes, designing you empire before you are prepar'd to fight for it. But such is the disposition of affairs, that you may rather be wanting to your self, than empire to you: For if the difficulties are great in the opinion of *Calcagno*, you have force enough to master greater. And grant, that 'tis a hard and knotty enterprize; what famous action do you meet with in ancient or modern story, that was conducted by smooth and flowery ways? Great enterprizes were ever accompanied with great dangers, and the greatest heights confine upon precipices. A man of elevated thoughts will not for all that let an uncertain fear of imminent calamity deliver him a prey to certain

certain misery. In a private condition 'tis prudent counsel to stick to mediocrities; but in occurrences of state middle ways are most pernicious; especially when the business must begin at execution: for not being able to put bounds to things that are once on foot, and out of our hands, we must reach our proposed ends, or fall into ruin. But let us not give to our affairs such unhappy auguries: let us take a view of misfortunes by a necessary foresight, not to torment our selves in the expectation, but to prevent their bad effects by prudence; let us walk warily, but let not too much caution render us fearful and irresolute. Let something be left to the disposal of your fortune; and fate, who having chosen you for *Genoa's* deliverer, and restorer of the ancient *Italian* valour, will find ways to unravel all difficulties; only consent to be absolute, and embrace with largeness of heart those favours which fortune freely pouts into your bosom, without dividing them. To what end should you call the *French* to share in your fortunes, who, having lost what they possess'd on this side the mountains, together with their reputation, are not secure from *Cæsar* in their own territories? Besides, you ought to consider the natural hatred that nation bears to the *Italian* name. That king, 'tis true, is endued with qualities truly royal; but, for all that, he hath his weaknesses, inseparable from great princes. And what recompence can the *French* give you worthy of your pains and dangers? Perhaps leave you in the government of *Genoa*, with dependence upon them? But this were to make your self mercenary in that country, where nature hath invested you with part of the principality: 'tis better you value your self on your own subjects, friends, and confederates; and not let that crown be put on your head by others

thers hands, which is so worthy of you, and you of it. When you shall have establish'd your power in *Genoa*, and thereby keep even the key of *Italy*, the best princes of Christendom will ambitiously court your friendship. Then, when you shall have overcome the envy of competitors, your family shall be placed in a height to which none of *Genoa* hath attain'd : *Giannettino* shall fall at your feet, reverence you as his lord, and fear you as his prince ; with a beck you shall regulate his actions, and your will shall give law to his desires. Let the *French* alone then in their country, and there let them hear the sound of your victories. To you it belongs now vigorously to encounter what stands in the way of your design. Do it with a resolution worthy of your birth and courage. Deserve that triumph, which the heavens have destin'd you. Let the world see, you know how to build your own fortunes. Let my mighty hopes be surmounted by your virtue. Secure a kingdom to your family, and eternity to your name.

Gio. Luigi had never applied his mind to get *Genoa* for himself, but for the crown of *France* ; contented to lessen the excessive power of *Doria*, and to better his own condition under the king's protection : but being covetous of fame, and in his nature inclin'd to vast pretences, 'twas easy for *Ver-rina* to take him off from the *French*, and put him upon his own advancement. So that, no longer weighing the reasons of *Calcagno*, he was as it were fatally carried to the execution of the most dangerous, and least honest advice. But for all this he was much perplexed with an apprehension of the difficulties, wanting the *French* assistance. In which doubt *Raphael Sacco* confirmed him ; who, being of the *French* faction, prais'd the conditions offer'd by

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Triultio, as fit to be embraced. But *Verrina* detesting all mixtures as dangerous in a business which called for extreme resolutions, endeavoured by all ways to remove this obstacle which cool'd the fervency of *Gio. Luigi*. So he replies with much vehemency, That 'twas a meanness unworthy a noble mind to be frightened off a design with phantasms : That in the garrison of *Genoa* were no more than 200 soldiers ; *Doria's* gallies, tho' many in number, remained useless, for, by reason of the season improper for navigation, they were disarm'd ; *Andrea* and *Giannettino*, far from all suspicion of violence, lived abandoned without guard publick or private ; *Gio. Luigi* might in an instant bring in a good number of soldiers from the neighbouring castles, which should surprize the *Doria's* in their house ; at the same time 'twould be easy to master the gallies : the rest would happily fall in of it self, through the inveterate hatred the common people bore the nobility. He offer'd himself to stir up the commotion in favour of the enterprize, whose minds he had by his endeavours already well disposed. These, and other particulars urg'd by *Verrina* with great subtilty, especially a superiority of genius which he had over *Gio. Luigi*, gave the last shock to his wavering mind. So now, fully descending into the opinion of *Verrina*, he began to consider how he might proceed to carry the design prosperously. The first and joint resolution of them all was, that seeing the safety of the *Doria's* was inseparably link'd to the present government, to change this, 'twas necessary to take those out of the way : and, to be secure in their revenge, to kill likewise *Adamo Centurione*, father-in-law to *Giannettino*, and some others of the nobility.

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From the first day, that *Gio. Luigi* gave way to these thoughts, after he had bought the gallies, he retired to his castles, where he was wont to exercise the militia of the country, pretending to fear the duke of *Piacenza* his neighbour ; but really with intention of fitting his subjects, that they might become proportionable instruments to his designs. Returning to the city at the beginning of autumn, he used great art to purchase the friendship of those among the nobility, which were styl'd popular. He insinuates himself into their conversation with wondrous facility : to some he gave ; others he assisted in their occurring interests ; to every one he offer'd himself with great demonstrations of courtesy. And, being of a lively wit and a bending nature, 'tis scarce credible how fortunately he gain'd their confidence. When he saw that he had master'd their wills, he began, as occasion offer'd, to mock at the tyranny of the nobility, as he call'd it ; at another time he would seem, by abrupt discourses, to pity the condition of the common people ; sometimes he would hint, that there was a way to suppress the arrogance of the nobility, if they were not wanting to themselves ; sometimes exhorting them by a bitter irony to patience, and ever with perplexed words leaving some sting in their minds : but above all, exaggerating the iniquity of the government, if by chance any thing fell out displeasing to the common people. Nor did he omit his diligences even with the dregs of the commonalty ; ready in his salutations ; pleasant in encounter ; splendid in his habit ; courteous to all. In this, nature helped him not a little ; being of exquisite form, in the flower of his youth, and of a jovial complexion ; whence, by a sweetness of air in his face, and an elegant behaviour, he was

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beloved even at first sight ; and verified in himself what was said of *Absalon*. Besides, he frequently exercis'd horsemanship, and did it with infinite grace and becomingness. But, because an opinion of liberality is the strongest chain to bind the multitude, 'tis said, that he one day call'd to him the consul of the *Silk-weavers*, of which trade there are a great number in *Genoa*, familiarly asking him the condition of his company ; and understanding that they liv'd in great misery, by reason of the badness of trade, he shew'd signs of a most tender compassion towards the poor men, and said, they were not to be abandon'd in a time of so much need ; he therefore orders him to send secretly to his house, such whose necessity was most manifest and urgent. The next day comes a great number of them one by one ; and he, as one of singular charity, divides amongst them a certain quantity of corn ; telling them withal, that it being the ancient custom of his family to relieve necessitous and afflicted persons, he could not degenerate from his ancestors ; therefore, when they wanted means to sustain their families, they might confidently value themselves on his substance, which they should always find expos'd to their relief, provided they were silent ; secrecy being a main circumstance in alms. They departed no less comforted by the relief, than amaz'd at the liberality ; reputing their benefactor worthy of all good fortune. He, in the mean time, would not, in such a manner, cast himself into the arms of the commonalty as to fall into jealousies of the nobility ; but studied to use such a temperament, that the confidence of the one should not destroy the friendship of the other. Wherefore he betook himself to a profound simulation, and began to frequent *Doria's* palace more than

than before : and, dissembling well the mortal hatred he bore *Giannettino*, behav'd himself with all familiarity, craving his advice and assistance in all his affairs. In the mean while he corresponded with the duke of *Piacenza*, who promis'd him two thousand foot to join with what force he could raise in his own state. He likewise causes one of his gallies to come to *Genoa*, pretending to send it for the *Barbary* shore. Nor was *Verrina* idle all this while, but cunningly gain'd divers persons to promise him in a certain aid their occasion. With these preparations they thought a sufficient foundation was laid for the building up of their design ; and met once more to consult of the execution. The first opinion was, that they should intimate a new mass in the church of St. *Andrea*, to which *Andrea*, *Giannettino*, and some of the principal nobility, whose lives they design'd upon, should be invited. But this seem'd no less wicked than unsafe ; for *Andrea* would have excus'd himself by his age : Besides, it seem'd too horrid to give beginning to their design with the sacrilegious prophaning of a temple and sacrifice. But, because the reins once let loose, we are hurried precipitously to all sorts of wickedness, though shame gave check to the last determination, it broke out afterwards in a most detestable impiety. For, upon occasion of a marriage to be celebrated between a sister of *Giannettino's* and *Guilio Cibo*, marquis of *Massa*, and kinsman of *Gio. Luigi*, they resolv'd that the earl should invite the *Doria's*, and those of the nobility which they thought stood most in the way, to supper with the the bride's company ; and, that all of them (violating the right of hospitality) should be murder'd by certain men conceal'd in the house for that purpose ; and that the earl should immediately issue

out with his followers, and call the people to liberty; and that, at the palace, *Verrina*, by a plausible speech, shewing the necessity of reforming the government, should prepare the commons to accept of *Gio. Luigi* for their prince. Hereupon order was given, that from *Gio. Luigi's* castle should enter into the city, one by one, the best of his soldiers; and the duke of *Piacenza* was solicited to send his promis'd succours. These diligences, especially of lifting soldiers, could not pass so secretly, but the governour of *Milan* had some notice of it, and sent to *Genoa* to give it *Doria* and the emperor's embassador. *Andrea*, notwithstanding, deceiv'd by those flattering demonstrations of affection, and that serenity of countenance, which he continually found in *Gio. Luigi*, was a second time incredulous to those pregnant circumstances which lay against him. Nor did he change opinion, when the same government of *Milan*, having a confirmation of it from the court of *France*, advis'd him once more seriously to take it into consideration. And certainly, if we did not read of several great persons, who have been hardly induc'd to give credit to what they heard was plotting against their safety, the simplicity of *Andrea* were sharply to be blam'd; who, in a matter that concern'd his life, and the safety of the commonwealth, lent more belief to the dissembling looks of *Gio. Luigi*, than to the thing itself; as if it were an unusual thing to put on a face to serve the scene; or, as if, for the safe-guard of our country and life, any kind of vigilance were superfluous. But, seeing the stories of all times do furnish a hundred examples of prudent men, who have suffer'd themselves to be bewitch'd by this fatal incredulity in things of the greatest importance, we must needs say,

say, that the accidents order'd, or inevitably permitted, by the providence that governs them, require to bring to effect this momentary folly in the brightest intellects, as the assault of a violent fit in the most healthful bodies, to mortify worldly wisdom ; which, in affairs of greatest weight, appears lightest. More quick-sighted was *Paolo Panfa*, who, with a loving as well as a prudent eye, studying the actions of *Gio. Luigi* from the time that he bought the gallies, did much suspect some important action depending ; and, by the authority which his condition gave him, reprov'd him. After that, weighing exactly what he heard and saw, he found occasion to augment his conceiv'd suspicion. For *Gio. Luigi*, who was wont before to impart to him his most secret affairs, was now silent, and withdrew often to private consultations with others. And, though riding about the city, or in conversation with his friends, he marvellously conceal'd his inward thoughts ; yet, when he came home, he was chang'd into another man, full of profound thoughtfulness, and little less than astonish'd. Nor did he hide his designs from *Pansa* for any other reason, but because, knowing him a man of singular integrity, he concluded that he would, by all means, endeavour to divert him : or, at least, as one that was a stranger to military noises, and educated in the pleasing idleness of the muses, examining every circumstance with too much caution, he would measure the enterprize by terms of security, impossible to be had in such cases. One day, *Gio. Luigi*, coming home, more than ordinarily melancholy, by an unquiet motion, and uncertain countenance, gave signs of some great alteration ; so that *Pansa* resolv'd to speak to him, lest, by deferring it, the

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remedy might come when the disease was past cure ; and, withdrawing into a chamber with him, he thus began :

To pry into another's secrets is as unworthy a gallant man, as the faithful keeping of them, when deposited, is laudable ; and I, who would have promis'd this, if it were not known to you by so many proofs, have abstain'd from that, not to do a thing that might displease you. Your unwonted silence speaks to me, notwithstanding, loud enough, and signifies matters of so much the more weight, as they are deeply conceal'd. I read, in your disturb'd face, the necessity of my cares ; and I learn, from your fears, to fear. I fear, *Gio. Luigi*, I fear, nor do I know what : I know well, that this is the fervency of the love I bear you, and one of the raptures of my fidelity. And how can I persuade myself that your mind is bent upon a fitting subject, when it hath the power to disturb its serenity ? The execution of your design cannot be peaceable, when, the bare thought of it works such a change in you : and you give too unhappy augury of that enterprize, which you commence with inquietudes. To what end do those counsels tend, which leave you floating in a thousand perplexing cares ? These secret assemblings of men, violent and crafty, I fear much, will lead you astray from the path of honesty. Suffer me to handle the wound in order to its cure ; They are not of so innocent life, or such sincere piety, that I dare promise myself, from them, an honest and religious advice. Perhaps they abuse your years, and, finding you generous, propound actions, in appearance, magnificent ; but, indeed, rash. Open your eyes, *Gio. Luigi*, for one fool may thrust you down that precipice, from which the arts of a thousand wise men shall not recover you. 'Tis easy to set a house on fire, but with
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how much sweat, and after how much damage, is it extinguish'd? Look to it, that they do not use you as the way to their end, or that your loss does not profit those that deceive you. Those counsellors are too rarely found, which aim at what is right, separate from interest; and yet by this touchstone you ought to try them. I cannot believe, that he, who leads his life amidst a thousand debaucheries, will invite another to virtue: for tho' what he saith contradicts what he does, yet the principal part of persuasion lies in the example, not in the tongue: at least the mouth and hand must go together. What do they desire of you? What novelty would they have you attempt? Your condition hath no need of motion to change it. That fortune, so propitious to your house, may be easily provoked. The least alteration, which can succeed, must be worse than your present state. Envy hath long sought to enter amidst your happiness, and will soon get in, if you put it in disorder: for many of those which are inferior to you for birth and place, go in quest of occasions to traduce you. Youth hath not a sweeter food than hope, 'tis true; but 'tis as true, there is nothing more slippery than prosperity: look to it then, that by reaching at what you hope for, you do not lose what you have in your hands. Those, who are of your counsel, have nothing to lose. Tumults, seditions and ruins, by which bad men rise, make for them: he does not fear to fall, that is not plac'd on high. You ought to walk warily, for you are obliged to furnish fame with matter worthy of your birth.

This discourse was heard by *Gio. Luigi* with impatience, for his mind was elsewhere: he answer'd him notwithstanding confusedly, That he intended

intended nothing but what was noble and worthy of his birth, which, at convenient time, he should understand from him. Whilst the day appointed for the feast, being the fourth of *January*, was expected by the conspirators, there happened an accident, which put them on a necessity of hastening the design; to their infinite vexation, seeing their hopes of seizing on a good part of the nobility at the creation of a new duke, frustrate. For *Andrea*, taken with unwonted and excessive pains of the gout, could not come according to his promise, and *Giannettino* was to leave *Genoa* upon some urgent affair; so that considering a conspiracy hath not a greater obstacle than delay, they resolved to execute it the night of the second of *January*. And now *Gio. Luigi* gives out, that he will send abroad one of his galleys against the pirates: and under this colour he brought in the soldiers sent him from *Piacenza*, and some of his own vassals, pretending an election out of them. And, to the end that the number of them which came from his own state, beyond the occasions of one galley, might not give suspicion, he caused some of them to be brought in fetter'd, as criminals destin'd to the oar: others enter'd singly at several gates, and arms were provided for them all. Afterwards, the better to deceive *Gianettino*, under pretext of confidence, he imparts his design, praying him to interpose with *Andrea*, that it might not be impeded; seeming to be fearful, that, because a truce was made between the grand *Seignior* and *Cæsar*, he might stop the galley. The first of *January*, which preceded the night fatal to *Genoa*, *Gio. Luigi* called home to him certain soldiers of the city garrison, whereof some were his own vassals, others had obtained their places

places by his means ; then he goes to *Andrea's* house where he staid late, shewing signs of a most tender love and respect : and meeting with the children of *Giannettino*, which were playing in the hall, with a tender and curious flattery, in the sight of their father, he kisses them several times, and takes them in his arms : at parting, he renews his instance with *Giannettino*, to take care his galley, which that night was to set sail, was not hindered by his men : and further, he advises him not to be surpris'd, if by chance he heard guns shot off, or other noise ; for a business of this nature could not be effected without some disturbance. When it began to be dark, he brings into his house those soldiers he had need of, and set such, as he esteemed most faithful and valiant, at the gates, to admit all that came, but not to suffer any to go out. He dwelt in the highest part of the city, in a place as it were divided from the rest, which was opportune for his design. When the centinels were to be set, he who commanded the garrison miss'd some of his soldiers, and found they were gone to *Gio. Luigi's* house ; so that, suspecting some pernicious design, he advis'd the senators of it, who were at the palace. And now began to appear the fruit of *Gio. Luigi's* dissimulation and caution : for *Giannettino*, possess'd with what he had heard concerning the galley, stifled their growing fears, by telling them, that those soldiers, or vassals, or servants of the earl, were employ'd by him about the voyage for the lieutenant. So short-sighted is human understanding, that then men build up their own misfortunes, when they think they have put all in security. *Gio. Luigi*, after he had given necessary orders at home, went abroad to visit the *Vegli's*,
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which the nobility are wont to keep at their houses in winter-evenings. About four hours in the night, he came to the house of *Tomaso Ascreto*, where *Verrina* had cunningly drawn together three and twenty of the young nobility of the popular order. He treats them with much kindness, and invites them home with him to supper ; praising the stillness of the evening, enlightened by a pure ray of the moon. When he was come home, he carries them into a certain remote chamber, and orders *Pansa* to entertain his wife *Leonora* in another room till he returned. In the mean while *Verrina* goes up and down to the palace, to *Doria's* house, and other parts of the city, to see if there were any rumour. The young gentlemen were not a little astonished to see the house full of arms and armed men, and looked upon one another ; when *Gio. Luigi's* countenance altogether changed (whether with horror of the approaching parricide, or with rage against *Giannettino*, which hitherto violently smothered in his breast, now began to attempt a passage through his eyes and mouth) leaning upon a table, and striking upon it with his hand, he thus delivered himself :

So it is, gallant Gentlemen. He, that hath but one drop of ingenuous blood, cannot suffer it. The constancy of my thoughts receives too great a violence from the unworthiness of those, who go about to ruin me. Too sad a spectacle is drawn in my mind by the fear of my falling country, and oppressed countrymen. If the evils, which mortally afflict the common-wealth, could hope a remedy from time, I would willingly submit to any delay that might be useful to the common good : but, seeing our affairs are arrived at their last precipice, 'tis necessary we go meet
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our misery to sustain it. Dangers generously encounter'd, lose their force; patiently expected, gather strength. *Giannettino Doria* satiated with the idle felicity that pursues him, wearies himself in following that ambition which torments him; and now, ready to gather the fruits of his bad designs, threatens you with loss of liberty, and me of life. Not content to see the people of *Genoa*, who were lately absolute moderators of all *Liguria*, now stript of their dignity, and a scorn to the pride of the nobility, he dare subject it to a tyrannous principality, which he is erecting for himself. To this effect, not enduring a private fortune, become in a free country more barbarous than strangers, he arms his heart with such a contumacious pride as cannot be overcome by modesty, nor escaped by humility. He keeps, as you see, your sea besieged with twenty gallies; he passes up and down the city surrounded with the nobility, who, by *Andrea's* favour, possessed of those dignities, which were yours, render to *Giannettino* a servile respect, as a reward for his crushing the common people: and, that which more afflicts me, I have invincible proofs, that by the assistance of a great prince he prepares a cruel yoke for the publick liberty. And because I alone being partial, not so much to your order as to right, have never consented with the rest of the nobility to the oppression of the people, my life is aimed at. Why then do we lie buried in sloth, my countrymen? Why do we remain fearful spectators of our own miseries? For what enterprize do we reserve our courage, if in the utmost desolation of our country we unhappily abandon our selves? It is no longer time to complain of them, but to be revenged upon them; let us

leave the tongue-war to women, and he that is a man let him use his hands. We have too long borne their insolence, who call our modesty cowardice. The impunity of pass'd crimes is pregnant of new, and too much dissimulation of the oppressed provokes the minds of oppressors to greater Injuries. And what do we expect further from them? Having lost the government, and all place of command in the common-wealth, can you be content to see your goods snatch'd from you by *Giannettino's* officers, your families destroyed, your lives betrayed, your wives and children dishonoured, and all those villanies committed, which may justly be feared in a tyranny bred out of the ruin of your country, nourished with the publick hatred, grown up with the injuries of the citizens, established by the death of good men? Are our minds so low, and our blood so spiritless? Are our arms so blunt, that we cannot by a revenging hand cut off their infamous lives, who honour themselves with our disgraces, triumph in our misfortunes, and feed on our miseries? Shall we not tear from the breast of *Giannettino* his wretched Bowels? Shall we not rend that heart from its fibres, which is the nest of such enormous treasons? Shall we suffer a citizen with an insolent foot to trample on us, and to have over us, as over slaves born to serve, the arbitrement of life and death? I for my part esteem a liberty bought with great danger more glorious, than a servitude flattered with idleness: and as I count it my honour, that the common enemy designs to join my death with the destruction of the common-wealth; so I willingly consecrate my life to the conservation of its liberty; and I should be unworthy of it, did I prize

prize it above my country. Only I would discover in you such a freeness of soul, as is, if not worthy of your virtue, at least correspondent to your danger. Wherefore either captain or soldier, which you will for my part ; if you lead, I'll follow ; follow me, if I lead. I consign you my mind, fearless in all accidents, my body shall be always in your hands. But you, whether honour be dear to you, or whether you desire to be safe, 'tis necessary you be courageous, and betake you to your arms : for such a resolution, which as to valiant men is glorious, as to cowards is profitable, and every way necessary. Nor do I call you to an indigested and rash design ; for, several months since, I have not only foreseen, but provided for this hour, by assembling sufficient forces, which, distributed in fitting places, invite you rather to a spectacle of certain victory, than to the danger of a doubtful combat. When you shall reduce to your memory the abuses of the nobility, and the pride of *Giannettino* ; I am confident, that awakening in your selves the desire of an honourable revenge, it will make you so bold in the manage of your arms, that our enemies to their loss shall be forced to admire valour in those whom they despis'd ; whilst you, on the contrary, shall make experience, whether they have so much force in feats of war, as softness in the encounters of peace. Along then, my companions ; this shall be the end of my speech, and the beginning of your conquest. Let us go out into the city, where we are expected, to put a speedy end to an enterprize so well begun. The gates are in the power of soldiers, by me corrupted : the gallies, at a sign given, will fall into the hands of
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such as are bold and able to keep them: In the city, fifteen hundred Artizans, ready arm'd, expect us: In the suburbs, by this time, are arriv'd two thousand foot from *Piacenza*, and as many more of my own soldiers. Let us call the people to liberty: let us return to the sweetness of the ancient government, and root out the tyranny of *Giannettino* and the nobility. Generously, my companions, in one sole night, more bright than a thousand days, let us restore to the obscur'd name of the populace, its ancient spendor, and cancel all memory of pass'd cowardice. But, if any of you shall be so stubborn as to think of opposing so noble and pious an action, let him behold this horrible scene of arms and armed men, and think the point of every sword is levell'd at his breast. I vow, companions, 'tis necessary to fight, or die: That blood, which ungratefully is deny'd to the succour of the suffering commonwealth, shall be spilt in this very place to wash off the stain of so much perfidiousness; and he, as the first victim, to be consecrated this night to the love of our country, shall fall here, by my hand, if any dare oppose me.

Those who were present startled at this terrible speech, and frighted to see themselves encompass'd, on all sides, with arm'd men, were silent awhile; but, at last, sway'd more by the fear of the present danger, than by the horror of the future wickedness, appear'd willing to apply themselves to the will of *Gio. Luigi*. In the mean while, rather a short collation than a supper is brought in; which, while they were eating, *Gio. Luigi* goes into the chamber where his wife *Leonora* was with *Pansa*, and discovers to them, in a few words, what he was about to do. The lady, wonderfully astonish'd at the wickedness of the fact, join'd with the extreme

treme peril of her husband, all in tears, fell at his feet: By what is most dear to you in the world (saith she to him) and by that tender love I bear you, let me beseech you, *Gio. Luigi*, to have a care of your own life, and do not stain the honour of your family by so unworthy an action. By these my tears I conjure you, not to forget yourself, me, your country, and God. To what precipice are you hastning? and me, where do you leave me? Must I stay here with a trembling heart, expecting the cruel news of your death, and remain a disconsolate widow, pointed at, by all, for having been the wife of a traitor? Can you find, in your heart, to abandon me a prey to the licence of soldiers, and of the common people; who, flocking hither, to sack this house, as the nest of a rebel, shall satiate their cruelty, and, perhaps, their lust, in this my body? Stay, *Gio. Luigi*——. She could not proceed, hinder'd by her tears, and interrupted by the earl; who seeing *Pansa* prepar'd to second her, cut off all in saying, Do not, my dear wife, lend so bad omens to my enterprize; but sustain your mind with better hopes. I go whither I am call'd by my fate. Prepare your mind for all events. My affairs are reduc'd to that point, that I am not at liberty to retire. A few hours will let you know my death, or your happiness: Rest in peace. And now comes in *Verri-na*, and tells them, no opposition could be suspected in any part of the town; and, that the galley, stuff'd with stout soldiers, was ready to stop the mouth of the *Darsena*, and, as it were, to besiege those of *Doria*.

Now *Gio. Luigi* arming those he had assembled, goes out at ten o'clock at Night, sending before him, an hundred and fifty of his best men.

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He follows, accompany'd with the nobility, taking great care that none of them slip away. Being come to the town, he sent *Cornelio*, his natural brother, with a squadron of soldiers, to possess themselves of the gate *del Arco*; which they did, the guard consisting but of a few, being easily oppress'd. Heartn'd by this favourable success, he goes on, and sends *Girolamo* and *Ottabruno*, his brothers, with *Calcagno*, to seize on the gate of St. *Tomaso*: but himself hearing the sign from the galleys, hastens to the bridge *de Catani*, and finds his way made for him by *Borgognini*, who had, by water, got into the *Darsena*. And now 'twas not difficult for him to enter *Doria's* galley. The mariners and slaves, awakened by the unexpected violence of arm'd men in the port, wounded the air with a confus'd and horrible noise of chains and voices, crying, *Liberty*: the slaves all striving to break their odious fetters. But *Gio. Luigi*, whose intentions and occasions could not be serv'd by naked galleys, to hinder the damage which might result from their escape, ran hastily toward the *Captain*, and getting upon a plank, which was laid to pass from the poop to the shore, the galley having some small motion, he fell together with the plank, into the water; being arm'd at all points, he could not help himself by swimming; and by reason of the noise of the tumult, and the darkness of the night, he was not seen, nor heard, by any body, but miserably perish'd, rather in a puddle of muddy water than in the sea, oppress'd by those very arms to which he had trusted the safety of his life. Thus the unerring providence of God sports with the foolish prudence of unhappy mortals, and by a light and casual motion, like the stone cut out of the mountain in an instant, destroy'd the proud machine

machine of a conspiracy, which had been long building, with a great deal of artifice, and secur'd by so much force: driving back, upon the heads of the guilty, those thunderbolts, which they barbarously darted at the bosom of their miserable country, and so many innocent citizens. For all this, the galley was taken, and secur'd, by the conspirators. Nor was *Girolamo*, and *Ottabrano*, wanting to their charge; for, hearing the gun shot off, as was agreed, they assaulted the gate *St. Tomaso*, with sixty soldiers, not only to reduce it into their hands, but to pass by it to the palace of *Doria*, which stood a little without the city. Here they found some resistance; but, in a short time, became masters of the gate. The noise in the *Darsena* was heard to *Doria's* palace. And *Giannettino* rising from his bed, thinking some quarrel might have happenen'd aboard the galley at play, or by some other accident, rapt by his destiny to encounter death, accompany'd with one servant and a page, goes toward the gate, which he believ'd was kept by the wonted guard, and with his usual fierceness increas'd then by his anger, he calls to have it open'd. The voice being readily known by the spirators, they open'd it; but he was scarce step'd in, when, with a tempest of blows, he was cruelly murder'd. At the very same point of time (as some observ'd) that *Gio. Luigi*, the sole author of his death, perish'd unfortunately in the water. The revenge issuing from the hand of God at the same instant the crime was perpetrated by the order of the earl. It was a thing that did beget wonder, that the murderers did not go presently to *Andrea's* house, conform to their first-resolution, to secure themselves at the same time of

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his life, who might once more give life to the publick liberty, and from whose wrath they might justly expect a signal revenge, not only for his private injuries, but their publick rebellion. But they abstained perhaps by reason of the confusion, which a wicked action is wont to cause in the minds of bad men; or perhaps hindered by *Girolamo*, the brother of *Gio. Luigi*, who having thus dispatched *Giannettino*, a young gentleman, fierce and of resolute counsels; and his companions having, as he believed, seized the gallies and subdued the city, did not much fear *Andrea*, a man of eighty years, infirm of body and stripp'd of his forces: nor perhaps, on the other side, was he willing, the soldiers, greedy of rapine, and altogether intent upon the prey, should dissipate and spoil those precious moveables, which he would reserve entire for the needs and covetousness of his brother. In the mean time the rumour increasing more and more, and *Andrea* not knowing whence it might arise, enquired often for *Giannettino*. At last he was told by a servant, that the city was fallen into the power of *Gio. Luigi de Fieschi*; that the common-wealth was in extreme danger, the gallies in the power of the conspirators, the people seditiously crying out *liberty*, and calling upon the name of *Fieschi*; nothing any where to be seen, but slaughter; or heard, but threatnings of the nobility, and his own life. *Andrea*, not astonished, but overcome by a pity to his falling country, resolved to remain a voluntary prey to those furies; saying, it was not fit he should live after the ruin of his country, but readily sacrifice the poor remains of his years to the last gaspings of *Genoa's* liberty. But his wife, with
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vehement prayers accompanied with tears, and with the loving violence of his domesticks hastened his flight ; telling him, 'Twas necessary he should withdraw ; that he ought to reserve the last act of his honoured life for the common service ; that he should therefore be content to live, to get new glory by renewing his service to the common-wealth, which again might be delivered by him : that now 'twas a time to authenticate his past valour by constancy, and to take counsel of his own virtue : that he ought to consider, that upon the safety of his person did depend the hopes of his country ; which, oppressed for a while by the fury of bad men, could not despair of rising again, as long as their deliverer was free : that he should go elsewhere to prepare remedies for the publick wounds, which he could not hope to do now in *Genoa* : and that it was not a flight, but a charge his afflicted country laid upon him for his own relief. So much was said and done, that he at last was carried to *Massoni*, a castle fifteen miles from *Genoa*.

Amidst these many and fortunate atchievements of the conspirators, *Gio. Luigi* being missing, every one called upon him ; but through the obstinate silence of every body in giving tidings of him, there enter'd into their minds a necessary suspicion of the fatal accident. But for all this, they did not abandon the course of their victory ; for, leaving a good guard at the gates and upon the gallies, two hundred of the stoutest among them join'd with *Girolamo*, and went up and down the city, stirring up the people to take arms : but with little fruit ; for tho' at the first the name of *Gio. Luigi* did invite a great number of the

meanest fort to follow, yet those of any account did not stir. Whether it were, that desirous of the common quiet they abhorred that disorderly insurrection; or whether they did not like, that a nobleman back'd by the common people, should promote his own particular ends; or, that they held themselves ill treated by *Gio. Luigi*, who, without their participation had put his hand to such an important enterprise; or lastly, remembering the continued and grievous excesses lately committed, they hated that manner of *Plebian* government, which casting the supreme dignities upon the vilest of the people, the publick business was manag'd with small decorum; and the most difficult matters falling into the hands of persons rough and incapable, resolutions were form'd upon them always violent and precipitous.

The city in the mean time was all in disorder; every one madly running about, not knowing whither; enquiring mutually, what might be the occasion of such a terrible uproar, without finding any body to answer: the women at the windows with cries and tears calling back their husbands, brothers and sons: the amaz'd nobility would have run to the palace, but feared the plundering of their own houses: *Cæsar's* ambassador would have left *Genoa*, lest he should in his own person expose the dignity of his prince to some outrage; but being persuaded to stay and assist the common-wealth, so devoted to *Cæsar*, with his utmost forces, he went presently to the palace, where he found divers of the senators, and concluded with them to send fifty soldiers to secure the gate *St. Tomaso*, which they valiantly attempted, but were beaten back. All this while, *G. Luigi*,
could

could not be heard of; and *Verrina*, who saw the plot (hitherto well conducted) was in danger without him, betook himself to the galley, resolving, if he saw things miscarry, as 'twas to be fear'd, to withdraw himself from the danger by flying to *Marseilles*. The rest of the conspirators, seeing neither him nor *G. Luigi*, one the head, the other the heart of the conspiracy, were not entirely satisfied of *Girolamo*, who, unexperienc'd and foolishly heady, guided the matter rather with impetuosity than by sound advice. Nor did they find in themselves that motive to reverence, which is ordinarily borne to persons of great valour, and who for a long time have been in possession of a good opinion; whence they began not only to cool in their first fervencies, but to look out for an opportunity to fly. Of so much moment is that good conceit which a captain acquires amongst his soldiers. But an accident, which in reason ought to have mortified the rashness of *Girolamo*, extremely heighten'd it; tho' not long after, having inspir'd him with an inconsiderate ambition, it serv'd to ruin him. The certain news of *Gio. Luigi's* death was spread amongst the conspirators; and *Girolamo*, considering he was left the absolute head of that faction, would be likewise heir to the earl's projects, and devouring in his imagination that principality for himself, for which hitherto he had fought in the behalf of *Gio. Luigi*; with so much the more vehemency he attended to mature the fruits of his victory, by how much he was flatter'd at hand with unexpected hopes; and by how much sharper the spur is that puts us upon acting for our own profit, than for another's benefit. The senators,

nators, and other citizens, assembled in the palace, were not wanting to assist in this extreme necessity of their country; but not having forces, nor knowing the designs of *Gio. Luigi*, they could not betake themselves to any determinate resolution. However, they would have sent cardinal *Doria*, kinsman of *Gio. Luigi*, to speak with him, and to try if the eminency of his dignity, sometimes more prevalent than ties of blood, or force of eloquence, were enough to withdraw him from his rash attempts: but being advis'd by divers prudent persons, not to cast the respect due to his place into the hands (always indiscreet, but now tumultuous) of the *Plebeians*, but to reserve the use of his authority for a private conference with *Gio. Luigi*, when it might be had; he refus'd to go. So that they now made election of other gentlemen, who met with *Girolamo*, and enquir'd for the earl, that they might deliver to him what they had in commission. To which *Girolamo* answer'd, they were to expect no other earl than himself, but should presently deliver up the palace to him. From which imprudent and unseasonable answer they collected the earl was dead, and the *Genoese* began to take heart: for they returning to the senate with the news of *Fieschi's* death, and the contumacy of *Girolamo*, twelve of the nobility were order'd to assemble as many of the common people and of the guard as they could, to drive the remainder of the conspirators out of the city, or to suppress them in it. But there was no need of fighting; for the common people, which at the name of liberty were call'd forth, desirous to plunder the houses of the nobility, seeing the vanity of their hopes, and repenting the sedition, dissipated

dissipated themselves by degrees; and the morning
 approaching none would be known for an accom-
 plice in the conspiracy; and others now fainting,
 turn'd their thoughts rather upon that safety which
 they might owe to their own flight, than to the
 gain of others victory. *Girolamo*, now seeing the
 weakness of his own, and the strength of those
 forces which were pick'd up to oppose him, knew
 not which way to turn himself; but, as the best,
 bent his course toward the gate *del Arco*. But in
 the palace every one took heart, and some advis'd
 that they should set upon the squadron of *Fieschi*
 already put into disorder, and not vilify the ma-
 jesty of the senate, by introducing capitulations of
 accord with armed rebels. But others more ma-
 ture, opposing profitable to specious arguments,
 would not consent; as well to spare the blood of
 citizens (of which a prince or captain is lauda-
 bly covetous) as not to leave room for some un-
 foreseen event, which might overwhelm the af-
 fairs of the commonwealth, now as it were in
 harbour. For by publick authority to put arms
 into the hands of citizens now in motion, and in
 the night, whilst many of them were ill satisfied
 of the present government, and many now declared
 rebels, was to disturb by motion the humours of
 an infirm body, which had need of being settled
 by repose. To *Paolo Pansa* then the Honour
 fell, to heal by prudent advice that evil, which he
 could not hinder by the preservatives of his exhor-
 tation. Brought therefore into the senate, and ha-
 ving briefly given a satisfaction not necessary con-
 cerning his own actions, he was sent in the name
 of the senate to command *Girolamo* to depart the
 city, leaving his people behind him; on which
 condition

condition the senate would grant a general pardon. *Girolamo*, by the industry of *Pansa*, was brought to condescend, and left *Genoa*, going with his servants to *Montobbio*. *Verrina*, *Calcagno* and *Sacco*, seeing the affairs of their companions totally ruin'd, set sail for *Marseilles*. The body of *Gio. Luigi* not being found for four days, it wrought in the minds of the common people a firm opinion of his flight for *Marseilles*: so that many thought the war rather deferr'd than extinct; which they believ'd would in its time be so much the more cruel, by how much *Gio. Luigi* would be more resolute in moving and conducting it, after he had by so enormous an action put off the mask of a citizen, and openly implor'd help of the *Trench*. But this suspicion did not last long; for the body being found, after some time was again cast into the sea, which put an end to the common fears.

F I N I S.



